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recent research backward toward the adoption of the "antiquated" views of writers like Selden and Spelman. We see this trend in Pike's *House of Lords*, in Vinogradoff's *Folkland*, and, in a marked degree, in Round's *Feudal England*. There can be little doubt that Freeman unduly exalted the English element and minimized the results of the Norman Conquest. The present drift of investigation seems to be in the right direction, even if it is toward "antiquated" ideas.

CHARLES GROSS.

England under the Tudors. Vol. I. King Henry VII. (1485-1509).

By DR. WILHELM BUSCH, Professor of Modern History at the University of Freiburg in Baden. Translated under the supervision of the Rev. A. H. Johnson, M. A., by Alice M. Todd. With an Introduction and some Comments by James Gairdner. (London: A. D. Innes and Co. 1895. Pp. xiv, 445.)

THE various prefaces, introductions, and appendices make Professor Busch's work largely self-explanatory as to its sources, objects, and ideals. This volume is the first of six which are intended to cover the whole of the Tudor period, the first two volumes being devoted to the creation of the absolute monarchy by Henry VII. and Wolsey, the second two to the struggle of Henry VIII. with the Catholic Church and the immediate results of this quarrel, and the third section to the reign of Elizabeth. The work is distinctly a contribution to English history, in that it is based entirely upon a study of contemporary sources. From these the author constructs a picture of Henry VII. which is very different from that which has been most familiar. His avaricious tendencies, which play so large a part in older explanations of his policy, fall into insignificance. The cool calculations of the politician, patiently working out the problems prescribed by his difficult circumstances, rise into corresponding prominence.

The basis of Henry's policy is to be found in the effort, in the first place, to make good his position on the throne, and secondly, to elevate this royal power into a really absolute monarchy. To the first object tended all his complicated foreign relations. The pressure upon continental sovereigns to abstain from the support of pretenders to the English throne, the marriages and marriage treaties by which he obtained recognition among the older and more firmly seated dynasties, the strenuous efforts to maintain peace, so that his finances and internal administration might remain strong and regular, were all directed toward his security on a throne the right to which was, after all, but that of conquest. When this end was attained, his ambition for English prominence in European affairs was satisfied. Even Ireland was, with this view, treated in a strictly opportunist fashion, though part of his policy there was necessarily more creative. His moderate and prudent internal administration was instigated by the same necessity for guarding against deposition in the interest of some pretender, or as the outcome of a renewed civil war. In other internal affairs, how-

ever, a second and more ambitious ideal guided the king. Financial considerations of course often took the first place, as was necessary in the chaotic condition of the treasury and the national impatience of taxation. But commerce, the budding manufactures, the incipient agrarian revolution, judicial organization and practice, his relations with the church and with the nobles, all were treated with the deliberate object of creating an "enlightened despotism." This policy of extension of royal power naturally culminated in the relations between the king and the three Estates of Parliament. With Parliament as such he seems to have had almost no friction. Even the possibility of friction was reduced to its lowest proportions by the infrequent summons of Parliament, but one meeting having occurred during the last twelve years of his reign. A number of important statutes were passed which were in the main dictated by the king's policy, but they seem to have roused no opposition. With the Estates separately there was more danger of contest. Yet Henry succeeded in keeping on good terms with the Church, patronizing the reformers of his time, nominating the bishops and then drawing from their ranks his most trusted ministers. The nobles were reduced to political insignificance, partly by direct means, such as the reorganization of the Council, with respect to its judicial functions, into the Court of Star Chamber, partly by undermining their influence through putting the active work of government into the hands of untitled men and churchmen who were of his own creation. It is suggested rather than asserted that to one of these untitled counsellors, Archbishop Morton, Henry owed most of the statesmanship of his reign.

Dr. Busch's use of the sources is critical, scholarly, and excellent altogether. References are given for all statements, without exception; the sources to be found in England, both printed and manuscript, have been examined with the greatest care, and many continental collections have been utilized which were previously almost unknown to English writers. A most valuable feature of the book is the full description and criticism of the work of the contemporary chroniclers, given in an appendix. An ingenious and carefully worked out demonstration of the former existence and of the authorship of a chronicle now lost is equalled in interest and value by a destructive criticism of Bacon's *History of Henry VII.* This work was written near enough to the period of its subject to obtain a false seeming of being contemporary information, and yet, as is here shown, had no source of knowledge which is not still available to us, and was, moreover, written in an extremely uncritical and careless spirit. Nothing but praise can be given for all this critical apparatus, and for its use in solving the problems of the foreign relations of the king, and of certain other political questions. Henry's tortuous policy in his relations with Ferdinand, with Maximilian, with Philip of Burgundy, with France, Brittany, Scotland, and the Pope, is traced out with the greatest care, ingenuity, and diligence. The objects, also, of much of Henry's internal policy are skilfully generalized, as we have seen, into a deliberate attempt to restore and magnify the English monarchy.

We now come to two fundamental criticisms of Professor Busch's work. He ascribes everything to Henry and his ministers, comparatively little to the times and their characteristics and necessities. Closely connected with this is his omission, or relegation to an obscure treatment, of almost all subjects except foreign affairs and the personal policy of the king. He makes his history of the time a biography of one man, leaving us to the inference that all that history was the creation of the one individual. His own words are, "Thus from the crown came that new life which throbbed throughout England after many years of disorder" (p. 292). Judging from this first volume, the title of the work is something of a misnomer. It is not a history of England under the Tudors, but rather a history of the Tudors reigning in England. Yet the close of the fifteenth century, and the early years of the sixteenth, was a time of peculiar significance quite apart from the character and policy of Henry VII. The fact that much of his legislation was merely a renewal of statutes passed under Edward IV., which is mentioned quite casually by the author, shows that there was a great difference in the times, which allowed the same measures to succeed now which had been ineffective in the earlier reign. Henry's success in rendering the old nobility of so little weight in the government arose far more from changes which had occurred in the numbers, wealth, and social position of the aristocracy, and from the needs of foreign intercourse, than it did from his policy or his efforts. The times almost necessitated the substitution of men of talent in the ministry for men of birth. The Wars of the Roses had depleted the great families, the foreign complications were greater, and demanded a degree of capability which chance alone could provide among the small numbers of the English nobility. Foreign governments were being carried on with greater ability and diplomatic skill, and England, being compelled to meet them on their own ground, had to look for men who had the necessary ability, not merely, as of old, high rank. The same requirement arose from the increasing complexity of the royal internal government. The extension of commerce, also, and of manufactures was far more due to the increase of capital and of enterprise among the people themselves than to the manipulation of the king. Movements of all sorts were in progress with which the king had nothing to do and of which, probably, he had no knowledge.

With these broader movements of the time, Professor Busch concerns himself but little. In his preface he promises "to take as comprehensive and many-sided a view as possible of the development of England in the sixteenth century." Yet he gives some 250 pages to foreign and diplomatic history and to the details of the three great conspiracies, some fifty more to commerce, looked upon largely as a matter of diplomacy, and only about thirty to general internal affairs. It is true that an account of the intellectual movement of the times is designedly left to be treated in connection with a later period, but our objection is to the inadequate treatment of the non-royal and non-diplomatic objects which the author

does touch upon. There were many men whose influence was considerable and whose characters were worthy of study, besides the king and two or three of his ministers and ambassadors; there was a history of the people as well as of the king. As much interest and importance ought to be found in the internal as in the external relations of the nation; military, constitutional, economic, and intellectual matters are certainly worthy to be considered in as great fulness as are diplomatic and foreign affairs. These two characteristics — the exaggeration of the king's influence, and the cursory treatment of many aspects of the time — are, probably, responsible for a certain lack of interesting quality in the work, notwithstanding its scholarly character.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

William the Silent, Prince of Orange: The Moderate Man of the Sixteenth Century. The Story of his Life as told from his own Letters, from those of his Friends and Enemies, and from Official Documents. By RUTH PUTNAM. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895. Two vols., pp. xxii, 366; ix, 431, 81.)

MR. MOTLEY'S brilliant and voluminous work has for so many years been considered the authority in English on the history of the Dutch Republic and its great founder, that a writer of to-day dealing with the same subject must be prepared not only to show cause why that history should be rewritten, but also to prove his own special qualifications for the task. Miss Putnam has done both. The story needs to be rewritten because new material has been made accessible to students, and because the demand of to-day is for a true not an idealized representation of the past. The author is admirably fitted for the work by reason of her sympathy with the subject, her historical instinct, a ready pen, a keen sense of humor, and her linguistic equipment. That the latter qualification must be specified, not assumed, is evident from recent attempts to write of Holland without a knowledge of the Dutch language.

A comparison with the work of Mr. Motley is inevitable, but in more than one particular the comparison is favorable to Miss Putnam. Her characters are not pigeonholed "heroes" and "villains," "angels" and "demons," but they win admiration because they preserve their human characteristics, or pity because of their ignorance and narrow-mindedness. The central figure in each of the two works is more attractive as it is presented in the later one. The loneliness and isolation of the life of William the Silent, his craving for sympathy and dependence on friendship, his domestic trials and disappointments, his long separation from home and friends, his sacrifices in the cause of Holland, the half-hearted support of friends and the bitter hatred of enemies, all this comes out in even clearer light in the work of Miss Putnam than it does in the glowing pages of Mr. Motley. The distinctness of the portrait is due to the fact that it